

## Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

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L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15  
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-----128523 311341Z /50

R 301330Z AUG 77  
FM AMCONSUL GENOA  
TO AMEMBASSY ROME  
INFO SECSTATE WASHDC 2009  
AMCONSUL MILAN  
AMCONSUL FLORENCE  
AMCONSUL NAPLES  
AMCONSUL PALERMO  
AMCONSUL TRIESTE  
AMCONSUL TURIN

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 GENOA 0451

MILAN HOLD FOR TRIESTE AND TURIN

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: PINT, IT  
SUBJECT: LIGURIA'S LEFTIST ADMINISTRATIONS; MYTHS  
AND VERITIES

BEGIN SUMMARY: THE VAUNTED EFFICIENCY OF THE COMMUNISTS  
IN LOCAL GOVERNMENTS APPEAR TO ELUDE THEM IN LIGURIA. THE  
RESUMPTION OF POLITICAL ACTIVITY AFTER THE LONG FERRAGOSTO  
SUMMER HOLIDAY, FINDS MOST COMMUNIST-LED LOCAL ADMINISTRATIONS  
(GIUNTE), INCLUDING THE REGIONAL AND MUNICIPAL GIUNTE IN  
GENOA, EITHER IN A STATE OF NEAR PARALYSES OR IN CRISIS.  
MUTUAL RECRIMINATIONS BETWEEN THE COMMUNISTS AND THEIR SOCIALIST  
PARTNERS ARE ON THE INCREASE. YET THE SOCIALISTS, DESPITE  
THAT PUBLICLY-BANDIED DISSATISFACTION WITH THEIR COMMUNIST  
PARTNERS, HAVE NOT RUSHED INTO ANY REVERSAL OF ALLIANCES  
BY JOINING THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS, EXCEPT IN THE PROVINCE  
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OF IMPERIA. SIMILARLY, THE COMMUNISTS, DESPITE THEIR BEST  
EFFORTS AND NOTWITHSTANDING FREQUENT RUMORS AND  
SPECULATIONS TO THE CONTRARY IN THE PRESS AND POLITICAL  
CIRCLES, HAVE FAILED TO ENTICE THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS INTO  
JOINING OR SUPPORTING THEM IN ANY GIUNTA AT ANY LEVEL.  
FOR THEIR PART, THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS NOT ONLY SEEM TO  
ENJOY THEIR UNACCUSTOMED OPPOSITION ROLE, BUT DECLARE

THEMSELVES CONFIDENT THAT SUCH A COURSE WILL REDOUND TO THEIR ADVANTAGE IN FUTURE ELECTIONS. THEY ARE, THUS, MORE INTERESTED IN REGAINING A PREDOMINANT POSITION WITHIN THE LIGURIAN ELECTORATE, THAN IN RECOUPING ALDERMAN SEATS IN LOCAL ADMINISTRATIONS. IN THE MEANTIME, PUBLIC OPINION, EVEN WITHIN THE CENTER OF THE POLITICAL SPECTRUM, REFLECTS A DEJA VU ATTITUDE AND THE CONSENSUS APPEARS TO BE THAT THE COMMUNIST-LED ADMINISTRATIONS ARE NO BETTER, AND INDEED MAY BE WORSE, THAN THEIR CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC-LED PREDECESSORS. END SUMMARY

1. THE LEFT, ANDNTHE CTHMUNISTS IN PARTICULAR, HAVE ALWAYS BEEN STRONG IN GENOA AND IN LIGURIA AND LEFTIST ADMINISTRATIONS ARE, THEREFORE, NO STRANGERS HERE. GENOA AND SMALLER CITIES AND TOWNS IN LIGURIA WERE RULED BY THE COMMUNISTS UNTIL THE EARLY 1950'S. MORE RECENTLY, GENOA SHIFTED FROM CENTER-LEFT TO LEFT IN THE SPRING OF 1975, THUS ANTICIPATING THE DRAMATIC LEFTWARD SWING OF THE LOCAL ELECTION OF JUNE 20 OF THAT YEAR. IN THE AFTERMATH OF THOSE ELECTIONS, NEARLY 70 PER CENT OF LIGURIA'S LOCAL GIUNTE (INCLUDING THE REGIONAL GOVERNMENT) AND INVOLVING SOME 90 PERCENT OF THE POPULATION FELL UNDER LEFTIST RULE. THE WESTERNMOST PROVINCE OF IMPERIA IS TODAY THE ONLY ONE OF LIGURIA'S FOUR PROVINCES WHERE THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS HAVE MANAGED TO RETAIN, OR WIN BACK, CONTROL THANKS TO A RECENT SOCIALIST DECISION TO REJOIN OR SUPPORT THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS IN THE CITIES OF IMPERIA AND SANREMO AND IN LESSER TOWNS.

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2. IN TWO YEARS OF FREQUENTLY UNEASY PARTNERSHIP WITH THE SOCIALISTS, FOLLOWING THEIR 1975 ELECTORAL TRIUMPH, THE COMMUNISTS HAVE NOT BEEN ABLE TO FORMULATE OR IMPLEMENT THE SORT OF INNOVATIVE PROGRAM WHICH MIGHT HAVE RESOLVED OR AMMELIORATED THE ENDEMIC PROBLEMS COMMON TO MANY OF LIGURIA'S CENTERS, I.E. CITY PLANNING, INDUSTRIAL DIVERSIFICATION AND DEVELOPMENT, IMPROVEMENT IN SOCIAL AND EDUCATION FACILITIES AND SERVICES, ETC. NOT EVEN THE LEFT'S REPUTATION AND IMAGE OF "INCORRUPTIBILITY" HAS ESCAPED THE TAINT OF ALLEGATION OF AND, IN SOME CASES, INDICTMENT AND CONVICTION FOR BLATANT CORRUPTION INVOLVING KICK-BACKS, FAVORITISM, NEPOTISM AND BUREAUCRATIC PADDING. ONLY TWO WEEKS AGO THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT VETOED THE REGIONAL GIUNTA'S AMBITIOUS MANAGEMENT AND BUDGET DRAFT PLAN, THUS TRIGGERING OR EXACERBATING MUTUAL RECRIMINATIONS WITHIN THE LEFTIST PARTNERSHIP AND BETWEEN IT AND ROME. IT IS NOT YET CLEAR WHETHER THE REGIONAL GIUNTA WILL APPEAL ROME'S DECISION TO THE SUPREME COURT OR SUBMIT AN ALTERNATIVE BUDGET. THE FEW CHANGES AND IMPROVEMENTS THAT THE LEFTIST GIUNTE HAVE PROMOTED, ARE EITHER COSMETIC, SUCH AS THE "BEAUTIFICATION" OF SHOW-CASE GARDENS IN SOME OF THE CITIES,

OR OF SHORT AND LIMITED IMPACT, SUCH AS THE INSTITUTION OF "FREE FUNERALS" FOR THE VERY INDIGENT OF THE CITY OF GENOA, WHICH, OF COURSE, BENEFIT ONLY A FEW. BY AND LARGE, THE MORE MEANINGFUL AND SUBSTANTIAL IMPROVEMENTS, SUCH AS THE MODERNIZATION AND EXPANSION OF PORT FACILITIES AND THE OPENING OF NEW HIGHWAYS ACROSS THE LIGURIAN APPENNINES, HAVE BEEN DUE TO THE IMPLEMENTATION OF PRE-EXISTING PLANS AND PROPOSALS FORMULATED BY PREVIOUS CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC ADMINISTRATIONS. APPARENTLY THE ONLY AREAS WHERE THERE HAVE BEEN VISIBLE IMPROVEMENTS ARE IN THE FREQUENCY OF STRIKES, STREET DEMONSTRATIONS AND JOB ABSENTEEISM. MOST OBSERVERS, INCLUDING THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRAT OPPOSITION, AGREE THAT THERE HAS BEEN A SUBSTANTIAL DIMINUTION IN ALL THREE CASES AND CREDIT THIS TO COMMUNIST MANIPULATION OF LABOR IN GENERAL, CONFIDENTIAL

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AND THE CGIL IN PARTICULAR, AND MORE TO WORKERS' COMMON SENSE IN THE FACE OF THE RECESSION. COMMUNIST ADMINISTRATIONS APPEAR TO HAVE NO MAGIC SOLUTIONS, HOWEVER, TO COPE WITH THE RATE AND SERIOUSNESS OF CRIMINAL ACTIVITIES. INDEED, THERE HAS BEEN A SUBSTANTIAL INCREASE IN CRIMINAL INCIDENTS IN LIGURIA OVER THE PAST TWO YEARS.

3. AS IN CASE OF OTHER REGIONS OF THE COUNTRY WHERE THEY GOVERN, THE COMMUNISTS HAVE MADE AND CONTINUE TO MAKE A DETERMINED EFFORT TO ENTICE THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS INTO JOINING OR SUPPORTING THEM IN LOCAL ADMINISTRATIONS. SO OPEN AND OBVIOUS HAVE THESE EFFORTS BEEN, THAT THE SOCIALISTS ARE CONSTANTLY COMPLAINING THAT FAILURE TO IMPLEMENT LEFTIST-SPONSORED REFORMS, IS DUE TO COMMUNIST FOOT-DRAGGING DESIGNED TO APPEASE THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS AND THEIR CONSERVATIVE SUPPORTERS.

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R 301330Z AUG 77  
FM AMCONSUL GENOA  
TO AMEMBASSY ROME  
INFO SECSTATE WASHDC 2010  
AMCONSUL MILAN  
AMCONSUL FLORENCE  
AMCONSUL NAPLES  
AMCONSUL PALERMO  
AMCONSUL TRIESTE  
AMCONSUL TURIN

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 GENOA 0451

MILAN HOLD FOR TRIESTE AND TURIN

IT IS NOT SURPRISING, THEREFORE, THAT THERE IS FREQUENT SPECULATION IN THE PRESS AND WITHIN LEFTIST POLITICAL CIRCLES, OVER THE PROSPECTS AND IMMINENCE OF THE "COMPROMESSO STORICO" IN LIGURIA. INDEED, THE FEAR OF THE ADVENT OF SUCH A COMPROMESSO UNDERLIES THE PRESENT MALAISE WITHIN LOCAL SOCIALIST CIRCLES CONCERNED THAT A COMMUNIST-CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC DEAL WOULD CUT THEM OFF FROM THE POLITICAL GAME. BY ACCUSING THE COMMUNISTS OF COLLUSION WITH THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS, THE SOCIALISTS HAVE, HOWEVER, PAINTED THEMSELVES INTO A CORNER FROM WHERE THEY CANNOT EASILY EXTRICATE THEMSELVES AND COUNTERATTACK. FOR SHOULD THEY ATTEMPT A RAPPROACHMENT WITH THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS THEY WOULD BECOME EASY TARGETS FOR COMMUNIST CHARGES OF DUPLICITY AND BETRAYAL.

4. THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS, FOR THEIR PART, AFTER AN  
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INITIAL PERIOD OF UNCERTAINTY, DISCOURAGEMENT AND DISORIENTATION, FOLLOWING THEIR LOSS OF LOCAL POWER IN THE AFTERMATH OF THE 1975 LOCAL ELECTIONS, APPEAR TO BE ENJOYING AND PROFITING FROM THEIR ROLE IN THE OPPOSITION. THEY HAVE STEADFASTLY AND CONSISTENTLY REJECTED ANY AND ALL COMMUNIST OFFERS OF COOPERATION AT ALL LEVELS. THEY HAVE NOT EVEN MADE ANY GREAT EFFORT TO ENCOURAGE THE SOCIALISTS TO MOVE BACK INTO AN ALLIANCE WITH THEM, EXCEPT IN IMPERIA. BY ALL ACCOUNTS, THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS APPEAR TO BE MORE INTERESTED IN REGAINING A POSITION OF PREDOMINANCE AMONG THE VOTERS OF LIGURIA THAN IN WINNING BACK ALDERMAN SEATS IN LOCAL ADMINISTRATIONS. THEY CALCULATE THAT DISSATISFACTION AND DISAGREEMENTS WITHIN THE LEFTIST ADMINISTRATIONS AND THEIR CONTINUED INABILITY TO COPE WITH THE INTRACTABLE PROBLEMS FACING THEM WILL IN A FINAL ANALYSIS, CONVINCE MANY VOTERS THAT THE COMMUNISTS HAVE NO MAGIC SOLUTION AND CAUSE THEM TO RETURN TO OR TO JOIN CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC RANKS IN FUTURE

ELECTIONS. THEY ALSO COUNT, OF COURSE, ON THE EROSION OF SUPPORT FOR THE COMMUNISTS, AMONG THE YOUNG AND THE MORE RADICAL ELEMENTS

OF THE LEFT WHO ARE DISENCHANTED WITH THE "MODERATE" POLICIES OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY AT THE NATIONAL LEVEL. SO CONVINCED ARE THE LOCAL CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS OF THE SOUNDNESS OF THEIR PRESENT POLICIES, THAT THEY HAVE RECENTLY UNANIMOUSLY APPROVED A POLITICAL DOCUMENT IN WHICH THEY DECLARE THEMSELVES NOT ONLY OPPOSED TO ANY LOCAL ALLIANCE WITH THE COMMUNISTS BUT AFFIRM THEIR UNAVAILABILITY EVEN FOR A "LOCAL PROGRAMMATIC ACCORD" WITH THEM SIMILAR TO THE ONE CURRENTLY IN FORCE AT THE NATIONAL LEVEL.

5. AN OUTSIDE OBSERVER CANNOT FAIL TO BE STRUCK BY THE CLEAR, SHARP DISTINCTION THAT NON-LEFTIST ELEMENTS OF THE POPULATION MAKE BETWEEN THEIR PERCEPTION OF A COMMUNIST ROLE  
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IN THE LOCAL AS AGAINST THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT. EVEN THOSE WHO EXPRESS SERIOUS AND GENUINE OPPOSITION TO A CONCERN OVER THE DANGERS IMPLICIT IN COMMUNIST PARTICIPATION IN, OR INFLUENCE ON THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT, APPEAR TO BE FAIRLY RELAXED, IF NOT DOWNRIGHT INDIFFERENT, ABOUT COMMUNIST RULE IN THEIR OWN BACKYARDS. THE DIFFERENCE IN THEIR PERCEPTION OF THE COMMUNIST THREAT MAY BE DUE TO THEIR EXPERIENCE WITH LOCAL LEFTIST GIUNTE WHICH HAVE NOT HAD, UNTIL NOW, SUFFICIENT AUTHORITY OR POWER TO FORCE RADICAL AND ADVERSE CHANGES IN THEIR LIVES AND FORTUNES.

6. THERE IS MUCH SPECULATION HERE (AS THERE PROBABLY IS ELSEWHERE IN ITALY WHERE COMMUNIST ADMINISTRATIONS ARE OF RECENT VINTAGE) OVER THE EVENTUAL IMPACT THAT THE PERFORMANCE OF THESE ADMINISTRATIONS MAY HAVE ON THE ELECTORATE. NO DOUBT THE COMMUNISTS THEMSELVES ARE PARTICULARLY CONCERNED OVER VOTER REACTION, WITNESS THE FACT THAT THEY ARE THE LOUDEST AND MOST CONVINCED OPPONENTS OF ANY EARLY NATIONAL ELECTORAL TEST. MOREOVER, THE LOCAL COMMUNISTS WERE IN A FOREFRONT OF THOSE WHO, EARLIER THIS SUMMER, STRONGLY ADVOCATED THE POSTPONEMENT OF THE PARTIAL LOCAL ELECTIONS SCHEDULED FOR NOVEMBER AND INVOLVING NEARLY 10 PERCENT OF THE NATIONAL VOTE. THAT COMMUNIST CONCERN MAY BE JUSTIFIED IS EVIDENCED BY THE PROBLEMS AND DIFFICULTIES WHICH THE PARTY IS ENCOUNTERING IN ITS CURRENT MEMBERSHIP DRIVE AND IN THE ALMOST HISTERICAL DEFENSE OF ITS POLICIES FROM THE ATTACKS OF THE YOUNGER AND MORE RADICAL ELEMENTS OF THE LEFT. THE PARTIAL ELECTIONS IN NOVEMBER, LIMITED IN SCOPE AS THEY ARE IN LIGURIA, MAY GIVE A CLUE AS TO WHETHER THE FEARS OF THE COMMUNISTS AND THE HOPES OF THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS WILL HAVE BEEN JUSTIFIED.DISCIUOLO

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